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The most formal procedure was for one of the older women of the village, frequently the Keeper's wife, to have the gathering party announced by the crier. All the able bodied women of the village would then go out together and pick the spot clean. Each patriarchal family made its own arrangements as to the disposal of the harvest, some putting it in a common storehouse, some dividing it among the various young wives. Women who could not go because of illness or segregation shared the harvest of their families. 222

The picking lasted three or four days and the women camped in the open, the older ones acting as directors and chaperones. Sometimes an old man or two went with them and, if there were danger of the Apaches, some husbands with bows and arrows. But no man ever worked at food gathering and the guards spent their time hunting rats and rabbits. The women dried or pit-baked their harvest on the spot and made a holiday of it with songs and stories. This was the time when daring youths sneaked to the camp at night and tried to decoy a maiden out into the dark. [836]

Often the women of a village did not go all together but in different family groups at different times. The female head of one patriarchal family would command her youthful subordinates to be ready and might invite the heads of other families. Then they proceeded like the large group. There was little danger of their taking what others might want because no woman could carry more than her one burden basket full, but there was a general feeling that it was wrong to be greedy and not give others a chance. When they returned they made small gifts of their harvest to relatives in the village: gifts which were reciprocated in the usual way.

The mens' deer hunting grounds were determined in a very loose way, like the women's gathering grounds. A mens' hunting party was arranged in the council but not for relatives only, since skilled deer hunters were few. They went to certain mountains rather loosely understood to be pre-empted by their village but no informant could say what would be the consequences if they went elsewhere. "Probably no one would say anything." Then follows another example of the economy of abundance. "There weren't many hunters. There were deer enough." Each hunter's kill had to suffice for the whole of the economic unit to which he belonged, which might mean from two to ten families. He butchered his deer on arrival and then called his children to carry pieces to each household, according to the number of its members. Occasionally "the deer was all gone but the bones before he had finished" and his own family got nothing. But the gifts were, of course, reciprocated and he had done his part toward the support of the unit. 224 423

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end of one line danced the song leader, any man who knew the puberty cycle. He held a rattle in his right hand while his left arm was across the shoulders of the girl. His wife danced opposite. 881 535

The lines went with a running motion toward each other and then back wheeling a little so that they finally covered a complete circle. There was no fire: "We got warm dancing." They danced through the night and at midnight were given a meal of succotash by the girl's family. The girl was expected to dance all of every night, though the other dancers came and went. In the course of a month or even of a night, there might be several singers, as one man got tired and another took his place. At the end of the month the girl made presents to all her girl friends who had danced often and "gone without sleep" with her. One informant said that when her dance was over, she had nothing left. She had given her deerskin dress, all her beads, her pots, sleeping mat and baskets (27).

"I got so thin, so thin! We girls are all like that at our puberty time. Running all day with the carrying basket and no rest. Before dawn that woman who taught me would come and say, 'Get up. Get water, get wood. Do you want to be lazy all your life?' So then we would go running, running over the mountains. When we got home, I slept a little. It seemed I had hardly shut my eyes before they were telling me, 'The dancers are here. Go out and dance.' I did not want to dance. I used to, when I was a little girl and watched them. But now I only wanted to sleep. But my father would say, 'Here comes the singer. Better go out or he'll drag you out. He's mean.'"[1]

The puberty ceremony, according to the oldest informants, was a time for promiscuity, (26, 27) which apparently had the connotation of fertility magic. It is one of the practises connected, in the myths, with the first inhabitants of the land and the reason why Elder Brother, the creator, offended these first inhabitants, was that he, an accomplished singer for the ceremony, used his privileges with girls beyond all bounds.[2] 881 786 836

At the end of the dancing period, the girl was given another bath at dawn and then she went to the shaman for cleansing. The rite was similar to the cleansing after childbirth. The shaman drew a circle on the ground, within which the girl sat, at the east with her back to the rising sun. The shaman stood facing east and walked 881 783 756

[1] In this dancing ceremony there is no suggestion of the "baking" which occurs in nearby California. However, tcuuwa, to reach puberty, and tcuuwam, girl at puberty, come from the same root as tcuwa, to bake.

[2] Cf. the Yuman reason for killing the creator: that he had raped his daughter. Kroeber, 1925, p. 790.

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freely and obscenely with married men and the words they used in semi-joking invitation were used by the men as nicknames. Very few adult men are called, in daily life, by the name given them by the shaman, but rather by one of these terms. Such temporary liberties did not constitute grounds for complaint on the part of a spouse. It was only when husband or wife left home with a lover that there was serious difficulty.

There was a class of women who assumed a married woman's privileges of free language and contacts with men, without any of her duties. This same class, which closely resembles that of the prostitute, is found among the Pimas and called by a name which means "playful" or light woman. If it has been adopted under European influence, it has at least become thoroughly assimilated to the Papago and Pima pattern, for it lacks both the obloquy and the element of pay present in the European institution. The Papago tradition is that the playful women were called out long ago by a youth who played the flute and drove them mad.

The playful women were always in festal array. Their clothing was the double apron or a strip of cotton cloth wound around as a skirt. They painted their bodies, legs and feet, by smearing them with red or white clay and then making patterns with the wet finger tip. They made lines under their eyes with the black specular iron which the men used in war and called "dizziness". On their cheeks they might have vertical marks of red clay. Their hair was well combed and they wore a fillet of hair around the forehead with a bit of eagle down stuck upright.[1]

So arrayed, the light women would go all together to the girl's puberty dances or to the big drinking ceremonies, where married women appeared only with their husbands and young girls not at all. The playful woman would form a temporary union with some man with whom she would visit several drinking ceremonies or dance through the whole month of puberty dances. At such festivities, food was supplied to everyone and her mate need not necessarily support her. She might follow him on a trading expedition, when he would care for her or occasionally she would go home with him and become one of his wives. In that case the other wives would not object, unless she were too lazy. But she generally left him again to attend a new festivity.

Between affairs she would go back to her father's house. Parents made no attempt to control a daughter, if she seemed inclined to

[1] That this type of woman was not a Spanish importation is indicated by two mentions of "prostitutes" in Sahagun: Seler, Neunter Abschnitt, b, 7, p. 366 and Jourdanet et Simon, Livre X, chap. XV, p. 616.

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836 this way of life but simply gave up and allowed her to have her way. If she had children, they would take care of them, since no stigma attached to a fatherless child. The only penalty was that they could not find her a husband, because she was not industrious. But when she was ready to settle down, she frequently found one for herself.

The mother of one informant is reported to have been such a woman. She had wandered to the Altar valley, where she met the young chief (American appointed) of a desert village. "Will you take me to your home?" she proposed. "Would you pick cactus fruit for me, grind my corn and fetch my water?" "Yes. I will pick cactus, grind corn and fetch water." She settled down and spent her life as an industrious wife.

Such incidents were not infrequent. In taking family histories, I several times heard the statement, "He married a light woman", without any other comment than a smile. "The light woman can't help it," informants explain. "Her heart bubbles over" (20). "When you talk to her, she doesn't know what you say. Her heart is outside her, running ahead, to the next dance" (31). Some of the most poetic of Papago songs deal with "the wandering heart" of the light woman.

836 832 753 787 Men who were flirtatious and had many sex affairs were also alluded to as playful but they did not form a distinct class like the women. Both men and women might be made ill by dreaming about the playful people. The symptoms were dizziness and lassitude. The cure was to make clay dolls in the form of man and woman and to have someone sing the girl's puberty songs. Lovesick visions were a common ailment and were attributed to several causes. An [824] unidentified root, called tcĭnaca't,[1] was used by men to attract both deer and girls. This root could assume the form of a man, enter a woman's house and cohabit with her after which she would [778] pine. Also the scalps or the Apache effigy in an Enemy Slayer's basket could take the form of a handsome man, and torment women with yearning.

831 825 If anyone, man or woman, thought too much of a person of the opposite sex, even though that person were a spouse, a snake would come and cohabit with the dreamer in the place of the loved one. Many tales are told of people who supposed themselves happily married, while others knew that they were going daily to the arroyo to lie with a snake. The same fate will overtake one who is not yet married and who thinks too much about love. Young people who look dreamy are reprimanded: "What are you mooning about? You must be married to a snake."

[1] cf. Zuni tenatsali.

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My father was a gambler, too. He used to go all over our country playing against the men. Beads and necklaces he used to bring me back from the River People. And sometimes he took all the family with him when there were races between the villages and all our young men ran. But he would not let me run at those races nor bet on them.

"Wait till you are married," he said. "When you have a husband he will take you to the feasts. They are for married people, not for young girls."

He would not let me go to any feasts at all, not even to the maiden's dances, when they happened in our own village and to my own cousins. When a maiden came of age, the people sometimes danced every night until the moon got back to where it was when they began. The men and women danced with their arms over each other's shoulders. We wore nothing on our bodies above the waist then. The young men liked that. It is said that some young girls did not come home at night. It is said that some babies were dropped in the arroyo and no one knew.

They told me that there were women who went alone to those dances, the wild women, who did not work and who went about painted every day. Corn ears they painted on their breasts and birds and butterflies, each breast different for the men to see. And a woman's breast, in that dance, comes just where a man's hand can reach it.

I began to dream of those wild women. They can haunt you just as the Prisoners do. They make men and women crazy, sometimes so that they run out and die. Then you must make little clay dolls, a man and a woman, and have the medicine man sing over them to quiet the sick person. I was not bad enough for that, but sometimes, when I sat alone at my basketry, it would seem to me that I saw a boy and a girl making love and it made me wild.

And I dreamed strange things. Once my mother sent me after water and I was all alone; the other girls had gone earlier in the day. I had to cross a dry wash. As I came up to it, there I saw a snake three times as thick as a man. That wash was full of caves, and the snake's head was in one of them, his tail in another, with his body stretched all across the wash. When I tried to cross it, he would hit me on the legs. I ran home without the water and my father was angry. My mother came with me to see what was the matter and there was no snake there.

And I kept hearing flutes; flutes in the morning and evening. Such lovely music that I would stand still in the house to listen. I thought my crystals were growing again.

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horses, and there was something shining on his shoulder. It was the eyes of an owl. "What will you do with it?" I said. So he let it fly away. But I think he spoke with it after that, behind the mountain. 159 X 756

He had crystals growing in him, and I know he had dreams but he had not told them yet. People only tell their dreams when they begin to cure. 159 X 756 585

When he was seventeen he went to the drinking ceremony, and he met one of those wild women who run about without husbands and sleep in the arroyos. He put her on his horse and brought her home to Standing Rock. That was a bad thing. I did not like that, but we said nothing. Then she wanted money to buy things. She did not want him to stay and plant our corn with Two Bits. They went to the white man's town of Many Cottonwoods and had two children there. But that woman killed him. [836]

She was a woman who would not wait and do things at the right time. She lay with my son in the house when she should have been at the Little House. That kills the power of a medicine man. It rots his crystals and after a while it kills him, too. So he came back to stay with my daughter and left that woman. She would not come back with him, out of the town.

I went there to my poor son and took him to a medicine man, but that one said: "His crystals are all dead and dried. They build combs like bees and those combs are empty and blue. His power is dead." So he died. "My mother," he said to me, "I will come to you like an owl. You will know me." And it is true. The other day I was passing by a giant cactus, and there sat an owl in the fork and called to me. It does not happen often. I would like to hear my son call again. [775]

That wild woman who was his wife took another husband the next year at the drinking ceremony. The man's name was Jackrabbit Chief and he was an old man, but it was dark and she did not know it. She got on his horse with him and she said: "Where do you live?" "At the place of the Dead Dog," he said. The sun was coming up just then and she saw his face. "Oh, that's too far." She jumped off the horse and we have never seen her again. 159 X 585

My daughter never lived with us very much. She lived with my mother and my brother, so when it came for her to marry, it was my brother who offered her. There was a man named Crooked Lightning whose sister was married to my brother. Crooked Lightning was as old as my brother. He was a singer and a good man. He had a wife who scolded him but he did not scold her. Only one day he went away from her and came to my brother, and said he needed another wife. So my brother gave him my daughter, Crescensa. She is a big fat woman now, a good woman. 159 X 584 586

It has been a long time since my children were married. My old husband 159 X 593 888

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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teasing, but it is usually good-natured, and in time she may adopt the new way of speech.

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There is no elaborate wedding ceremony among the Papago. The old practice of the groom spending four nights with his bride in her home before taking her to their permanent dwelling has fallen out of use. Nowadays, under increasing white pressure, some couples in the eastern districts are married in a Roman Catholic or Presbyterian church, but in the western part of the Reservation such ceremonies are rare. Most marriages in the West and some in the East involve no ceremony and require only public recognition of an understanding between the individuals concerned and their families. The recently approved tribal code of laws (see chap. vii) requires a marriage license, a ceremony performed by a religious or other duly constituted official, and a certificate of marriage.

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There are many sex relations outside marriage, which may evoke gossip or criticism but do not cause the social ostracism of either party. Children of casual relationships are to be seen in many homes. If the mother is unmarried, she cares for such children in her own household; when she marries, she may take them with her to the new home or leave them behind to be cared for by her parents. No stigma is attached to these children, and criticism of their parents comes from the clergy and the more ardent church members.

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Residence of newly married couples is usually patrilocal. They may live in the same house with the groom's parents—in which case they often have a room of their own—or they may build a new home close by. If the groom's family is large and no more workers are needed to make a living for the group, the couple may break away, fence in a new field, and establish their own household. Although the new dwelling is usually close to the houses of the groom's father and brothers and everyone works together when necessary, the son's household is distinct from his father's and is more nearly like that of the average white family. Nowadays the trend is toward greater independence of young families. They frequently go for long or short periods to places where there is employment, but the husband's father's house is always home.

This is the prevailing pattern, but in the characteristically flexible Papago society the new couple may live with the wife's parents for some practical reason. Possibly there are more adults in the groom's household than in the bride's, and the help of the new couple is more valuable in her home. Perhaps the girl has no brothers to help with the crops or the cattle, or her brothers have left the Reservation. Whatever the reason for a man's joining his wife's family he assumes the responsibilities and status of a son, and the functioning of the household is not upset.

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it is the short distance to a neighboring house cluster, and then she is always in full sight of her relatives all the way. Even in twos or threes girls are forbidden to walk about the desert or to loiter where men are working. 562

In the old days marriages were arranged by families, and young people had little voice in the selection of partners. The concept of romantic love has been introduced by white schools, movies, and magazines, and today there is much more freedom of choice. But, as a rule, Papago girls and boys are still circumspect in public. Though adolescents do not play together at school, they have more opportunities there for talking together and flirting than at home. Eleven- and twelve-year-old boys tease the girls, trip them up, or take their books. Older lads are more likely to start a disturbance to gain the attention and admiration of some particular girl; they are seldom disappointed. On the other hand, some of the girls quite openly seek to attract masculine attention by slight misbehavior in the classroom, and they often linger on the playground to watch the boys' ball games, a delicate attention which is not unappreciated. 584 883 [177]

At fiestas a boy will dance oftener with the girl of his choice than with the other girls. Sometimes they escape into the darkness away from the dance ground for lovemaking. 883 836 527

How much sexual promiscuity takes place is difficult to determine, for the Papago are conscious that their standards differ from those of whites, and they do not talk freely on the subject. Sex affairs that are intended to result in marriage do not seem merely promiscuous to the Papago, and many "Indian-custom" marriages begin in just this way, often in the cotton fields, where chaperonage is difficult to maintain. For sex relations that are not a prelude to marriage, boys are seldom censured, but girls are blamed for "going off in the bushes." However, the girl seems to be less severely criticized if she gives birth to an illegitimate child; neither the child nor its mother suffers social stigma, and the situation seems not to affect the girl's chances for marriage. 836 [848]

The boy who wishes to pay formal court to a girl will find excuses to visit her home, ostensibly to see a male member of the family. Everyone knows why he is there and takes great, though courteously veiled, interest in the progress of the courtship. The girl can discourage her suitor by disappearing on the pretext of having a task to do elsewhere. If she likes the boy, she will remain in the room while he is in the house; eventually he will find a way to propose, and they will announce to their parents that they intend to marry. They begin living together at once or soon afterward—usually in the household of the groom—and, whether or not a wedding ceremony is performed, are thenceforth regarded as man and wife. They have taken their places in the world of adults. 584 585

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The Thematic Apperception Test, too, reveals similar signs of interpersonal disturbances. The interpretation of its results, without differentiating between the attitudes of boys and girls, states that the establishment of a functional relationship between brothers and sisters may be a point of conflict.[3] But this conflict seems to be only temporary and apparently does not hamper adult adjustment.

Papago boys, who have more opportunity for activities and personal contacts outside the family than their sisters, more frequently mention nonrelatives in connection with happy experiences than do the girls, who connect most such experiences with members of the family, their usual companions.

Very little was learned from the tests about the emotional relationship between boys and girls outside the family. The Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception tests reveal on the average only slight sexual anxiety in adolescent children. In the Emotional Response Test, age mates of opposite sex were not mentioned once in connection with pleasant memories, though there was some mention of them when unpleasant occasions were recalled. Boys and girls, but particularly the former, acknowledged being ashamed (i.e., embarrassed) in front of the other sex, and a few boys admitted getting angry at girls. But this is all we learn.

So far as observations and reports indicate, Papago marriages are normally stable. Fidelity of husband and wife seems to be quietly assumed. Courtship and the selection of partners as they take place at present are little restrained by family authority, except in cases of close relatives, as of first cousins, in which event the match is condemned or at least considered undesirable. Romantic love, however, is not one of the important concepts and values in Papago culture. The emotional value of the relationship between man and woman seems to be viewed almost entirely from the aspect of their adjustment to the Papago ideal of family unity: husband and wife are considered enviably happy if they have many living and healthy children, if they are industrious, and if they co-operate peacefully and harmoniously with each other and with the rest of the family. Mutual loyal attachment apparently is conceived and officially sanctioned as growing out of just this active participation in and adjustment to the physical and spiritual needs of the family group and not as developing from the perpetuation of two people's passion. A marriage based mainly upon these values is likely to remain stable and relatively undisturbed, even when there are extramarital sex relations.

Boys' premarital love affairs are considered natural and may be an occasion for joking and teasing on the part of adult relatives; but, if the affair appears

3. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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157 836 to be a prelude to marriage, it may concern parents if the partners are unsuitable. For girls to have casual affairs before marriage is not the ideal pattern, but it is not deemed a bar to honorable marriage later on. As an *emotional* condition, a love affair has no cultural value. It is not a situation to be admired or condemned, to talk or make songs about, but a private affair of the lovers with a generally acknowledged value only if it is incorporated into a family group.

157 571 How far the whole complex of Papago magical thinking, of fears of the supernatural, and of the corresponding trend to retire into dreamlike seclusion may constitute a cultural reaction to specific difficulties in interpersonal relations cannot be inferred from the results of the tests. No general and clearly directed hostilities have come to light in the answers obtained from Papago children, except the rather mild conflicts between siblings of the same sex. Considering the slight formalization of the magico-supernatural complex, which at the individual's will may or may not be evoked for the instant's need, it seems likely to be at once the reaction of man to the numerous threats and dangers found in this particular desert life and to individually varying tensions arising from close and necessarily family-bound interpersonal contacts. Only a careful exploration of the numerous symbols and manifestations of the supernatural and their interpretation by the Papago themselves, as well as a psychological study done with the same objective, could give us a clear answer. Such methods might reveal, for instance, the psychological significance of the old Papago custom (which is still practiced in some families) of strictly segregating girls and women during the menstrual period because of their alleged power of evil and destruction at that time. With our present limited knowledge, we cannot say how far this custom is an integral part of the ancient magical fear of death and blood and how far it may, for instance, have developed as a social device for the psychological management of women and for the conservation of men's working and fighting strength through periodic sexual restrictions. It can, however, be noted from the Emotional Response Test that present-day Papago boys do not connect frightening experiences with girls, be they sisters or age mates.